/102 cont./

342 round, beehive-like. The larger one was 19 paces in diameter, covered high up on the outside with acuri straw, whereas the framework in the interior exhibited a circle of supporting posts one and a third meters high, upon which the basket of this structure, which actually consisted merely of a roof, rose with many horizontal bamboo rings. At the top was an air vent; a number of the /103/ framework poles crossing one another here extended to the outside. The entrance, a hole one and a half meters high, was surrounded by pepper plants. In any case, the interior space was far larger and finer than in the new houses.

433 241 The people led an idyllic existence; they carried on agri-

142 291 302 622

Captain Reginaldo and wife.

433 241 culture and stock-raising, went hunting, planted mandioca /manioc/, beans, maize, rice, and some tobacco and sugar cane. 197 They were civilized, despite the pierced ear lobes and nasal septa. 304 Their average height was 1.65 meters; they were striking because 142 of their broad and powerful chests. Their skin was yellowish, [141] clay-colored, and rather light, the hair of most of them was black and slightly curly or wavy. In general they had beautiful, open 151 eyes. Reginaldo's excellent vision was demonstrated on one occasion in a way that amazed us all. We noticed far in the distance a /illustration appears here/ figure in the grass; with an excellent field-glass I took it to be Tupy riding up: the entire company, among them-Daniel, who was seldom mistaken, agreed with me;

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "âla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-fisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate
/see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[276] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "àla, âla" was very humble and urgent.

B 133 489 /200 cont./ ceased its raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilderness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the stranger could not find his way, made communication there effortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil made work more rewarding.

B 191 433 If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives. The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important, both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical requirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting, beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously, /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predominated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice agriculture.

B 281 252

BO 433 252

B 181 825 Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with regard to the Bakaïrí I can confirm this statement in its broadest sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed, even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside, on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not aware of any gulf between him and the animal world, he saw

/205 cont./

say simply that our Indians were not yet familiar with metals and were, for the time being, dependent on shells, teeth, and wood in their work methods, if only because in large part they did not even have more suitable stones.

And now I have come back to my point of departure. In spite of their agriculture and in spite of their land-clearing with the stone ax, the Schingú Indians were not only able to maintain their hunting, but they had to maintain it, because fishing and hunting provided them, aside from a change of diet, with the indispensable tools for making weapons and implements.

Teeth. The sets of teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo)*

* There were two species, a smaller black "piranya preta" or "olho de fogo" (fire eye),

Fig. 22. Fire-eye piranha. (1/4 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

and a larger "paço amarello" (yellow maw), whose "yellow" is a brilliant orange.

served for cutting. They were opened with any suitable wooden hook and carefully examined: the lower jaw, four centimeters long and containing 14 small, triangular teeth, was then cut out with a shell. Hard things and soft things, the spines of the buriti palms or human hair, but especially all threads and fibers, were cut with the sharp teeth. They called my scissors "piranha teeth." Bamboo and other reeds were scored with them until they could

/208 cont./

* 191 25 30 511 [289] Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft end two split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great volume here, for ornaments, such as ear feathers, feather crowns, feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hung on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent ma- [325] terial was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, toucan, weaver birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the herons and storks or the black of the urubu vulture. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag [325] of the Harpyia destructor was magnificent.

* 17 [239] [412] The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an abundance of the most necessary things. In particular it furnished tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratch- ● [433] ing, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were hunters without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example [32] that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

* 191 433 511 [229] If one judges culture according to the extent and thoroughness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level. They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow; they fished with nets, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets; they had their fish

/209 cont./

#171 #433 S11 229 hurdles in the river, planted the stream with fences and barriers, and closed off arms of lagoons in order to confine the fish, they worked hard to clear large stretches of forest; they built themselves splendid houses, piled up considerable supplies in them, filled them with a great variety of things from an industrious craftman's skill, arrayed themselves with gay body ornaments, and decorated all their implements with graceful design. In #171 S11 view of the fact that the people of Cuyabá have showered me with angry newspaper articles to the effect that I have said the savages of the Schingú had neater and better homes than many people of the Mato Grosso, I should like, without comparing reasons, to set their minds at rest by adding that even in old Europe there are plenty of villages in the mountains and along the coast where people lead a more miserable life than on the Kulisehu.

#171 241 I shall list the cultivated useful plants which we observed among the Indians. They are arranged, under A, as those that were common in the northern part of South America before the Europeans appeared, and, under B, as those that grew wild in the immediate environment.

A.

Maize	Zea mays.	Cotton	Gossypium.
Mandioca	Manihot utilissima.	Cayeté	Crescentia cuyeté
Batata:	Convolvus batatas.	Bottle gourd	Cucurbita lagenaria.
Cará	Dioscorea.	Edible gourd	Cucurbita.
Peanut	Arachis hypogaea.	Mamona	Ricinus.
Bean	Phaseolus.	Urucú shrub	Bixa orellana.
Pepper	Capsicum.	Tobacco	Nicotiana tabacum.

B.

Bakayuva palm	Acrocomia.	Genipapo	Genipa.
Pikí	Caryocar butyrosum.	Arrow reed, ubá	Gynerium parviflorum.
Mangaba	Hancornia speciosa.	Spear grass	Scleria.
Fruta de lobo	Solanum lycocarpum.	Pitá bast-plant	Fourcroya? Agave?

/217 cont./

skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture surpassing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations. The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being. just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots; the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Brazilian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter vocation of the men, elevates the female sex for this phase of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive; man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path: they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakairí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

/218 cont./

#171 194 433 I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable tools. There #19 194 433 23 [343] were no domestic animals in our sense; dogs were unfamiliar to the native. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and cawing araras. He let those that he happened to catch young walk around in the village, woodpecker or heron or curassow, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spitting eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird. He had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying crickets -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as desired, the rearing of edible [805] animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the [862] Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

#171 194 433 The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agri- #171 194 24 [48] culture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the 194 973 women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakairí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

/27 cont./
162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
36 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on
the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[36] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[24] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[23] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still
chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still con-
sisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc,
maize, sugar cane, bananas, and abobora /gourds/, and raised
[23] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[64] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher
Jange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this
time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region
bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio
Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by
the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc.
cit., p. 64.

184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
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35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good
plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/269 cont./

539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoto, the great spirit. Orimoto was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

996 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-suma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoto and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-suma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoto the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

122 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /270/ foods sometimes appeared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

789 [224] [226] [241] [396] [782] [262]

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